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ABSTRACT

A change strategy, known as "systematic ad hocism," is based on three assumptions: (1) A concentration on individual teacher concerns as a first step in the change process is justifiable; (2) Encouragement of dialogue among teachers who have taken individual actions leads to collaborative actions and provides bases for organizational change; and (3) Inservice education must be responsive to stated needs, involve both theory and practice, and allow multiple entry and exit points for the teaching staff through multiple delivery systems. A description is given of adapting this change strategy in a Teacher Corps project and of the project's successes and failures in achieving change. An analysis is given of ideologies of change as they inform theory and practice. It is concluded that fundamental macro educational change has been difficult to achieve because change theory and technology have been historically weak. (JD)

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The Certainty of Change Theory: An Analysis of Experience and Ideology

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Introduction

This paper will describe Systematic Ad Hocism, the change strategy used by the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project in adapting research findings to accomplish educational change. The paper will then discuss how strategies for the adaptation of research emerged from the systematic ad hocism approach, and the project's successes and failures in achieving change. Finally, evolving from reflections on the project's successes and failures is an analysis of ideologies of change and how they inform theory and practice. The paper concludes that fundamental macro educational change has been difficult to achieve because change theory and technology have been historically weak.

SYSTEMATIC AD HOCISM: ASSUMPTIONS

The paradoxical concept of "systematic-ad-hocism" was developed by Miller and Wolf at the University of Massachusetts/Worcester Public Schools Teacher Corp Project and articulated in their articles, "Inservice Education and School Change" (1977) and "Staff Development for School Change: Theory and Practice" (1978) and by Brown (1979), "Systematic Ad Hocism: An Approach to Responsive In-Service Education and School Change." The concept of systematic ad-hocism reflects a number of research-based assumptions about inservice education, schools, and the nature of organizational and individual change. The first assumption derived from the CBAM and I/D/E/A studies (1978) is that there is a necessary and interdependent relationship between teacher change and school change which justifies a concentration on individual teacher concerns as a first step in the change process. Teacher growth and school change occur most effectively and lastingly in a situation that mutually supports and encourages both individual and organizational change.

The second assumption is that change is best viewed in terms of development from individual to organizational concerns. The encouragement of dialogue among teachers who have taken individual actions leads to collaborative actions which provide a basis for organizational change and strengthens the individual teacher's sense of connectedness and importance to the organization. This process is developmental and cyclical.

A third assumption is a three part view of inservice education. Inservice education programs must at once be: (1) responsive to stated needs, (2) somehow involve both theory and practice, and (3) allow multiple entry and exit points for the teaching staff through and with multiple delivery systems.

Systematic Ad Hocism: Characteristics

There are four characteristics of systematic ad hocism: (1) having a map rather than an itinerary, (2) being long range, (3) being adaptive, and (4) being value based.

Maps vs. Itineraries. Maps are conceptualizations, theories about the way organizations work, the ways the individuals work within them, the ways in which systems connect to one another, and the changes sought. Itineraries are series of prescriptions for management or planning (Getzels, Lipham, and Campbell, 1968). The application of prescriptions and adherence to itineraries limit freedom of action and becomes immobilized by the inevitable unexpectedness of complex open systems. On the other hand, the map allows the traveler the flexibility of working out alternate routes in case events make the original plan unworkable. For example, an itinerary (prescription) is "implement the ECRI reading system vs. the map (conceptualization of a goal) improve reading instruction in the school. The former alternative locks the change attempt to a single alternative and freezes and staticizes the change process. The latter alternative allows for greater flexibility in designing or altering approaches to solving the problem over time.

Alternate Futures. The second attribute of systematic ad hocism is being long range which means forecasting alternate futures. Generating alternate futures helps in better understanding the complexities of the system within which the change effort operates, in determining important decision points that will be reached in the future, and in choosing what may be unforeseeable and surprising alternatives in the future. Short range planning, ad hocism, is much more systematic as a result of long range forecasting and planning which provides a context for devising short range solutions to complex problems as they emerge over time.

Adaptive Planning. The third element of systematic ad hocism is adaptive planning. Adaptive planning is both being adaptive to the kinds of decisions that are faced through forecasting alternate futures and active and challenging responsiveness to people and situations in the environment of the school. "Part of systematic ad hocism is the understanding of the difference between a passive response to the environment, one in which the staff simply adapts its behavior to the environment, and an active response, one in which the staff attempts to challenge the environment with choices that reflect the full intent of organizational issues."

Value Based. The final characteristic of systematic ad hocism is that it is value based. Project staff members are not neutral; they have convictions about education, schools, and change. The Teacher Corps project becomes the laboratory in which deeply held personal values about personal, institutional, and political change are tested, risks taken, and in which personal learning and growth take place. Staff meetings and retreats are more than an arena

for theory and model building, long range and adaptive planning - they become a place where staff can share and explore the learnings and growth staff members as individuals are experiencing. This process is an essential element of systematic ad hocism because it enables staff members as a team and as individuals to have confidence in their ability to make informed choices in the complex system of a school.

Pervading the systematic ad hocism approach to change is a gradualist change strategy which is based on the motto "aim high, score low; aim low, score high." (Smith and Keith, 1971:373) The strategy is based on doing one thing at a time and includes nine elements:

1. Amplifying the close: dealing with immediate and concrete concerns.
2. Phasing adjustments: taking small steps.
3. Phasing supranationality: allowing for the development of working subgroups.
4. "Stretch-out": extending periods of adjustment as needed.
5. Multi-path approach: allowing for varied arrangements.
6. Locking in systems: preventing regression.
7. Provision for institutional spill over: letting authority develop beyond expectations.
8. Provision for acceleration: accommodating to greater demands and faster progress.
9. Cushioning: providing escape clauses for individuals who need them.

The main idea is to build on past strengths before moving into new areas and large scale change. The gradualist stategy involves: "(1) lower levels of uncertainty and unintended outcomes, (2) decreased time pressure, (3) an increased interval for major change, (4) limited decisions related to the changes, and (5) decreased demand on resources." (Smith and Keith, 1971:373)

Project Staff Operational Requirements

Systematic ad hocism reflects an equisite antagonism between theoretical and ideological polarities in the change literature. It can be viewed as an ethically opportunistic strategy which assumes that change above all else is a human endeavor. Systematic ad hocism as a human endeavor is imbedded with great personal risk to project staff members. High levels of uncertainty and ambiguity are inherent and necessary features of this approach to change. Staff experience personal role ambiguity, rapid and unexpected role changes and must constantly look for opportunities for action. In addition to the obvious necessity of selecting staff that thrive on risk-taking, the project staff as an organizational unit takes on some particular characteristics.

Project staff meetings include open-ended agendas and time to allow for the naming and exploration of new activities. Any staff member should be allowed to initiate new tasks. In addition to initiating new tasks, project staff meetings allow for issue and theory discussions as a way of continuously matching prescriptions to conceptual goals.

Project staff leadership remains open and task-relative. At different points in time and in particular goal and task areas, different members of the project staff will have the most appropriate expertise and/or disposition to carry out leadership functions. Although ultimate responsibility and accountability will almost always rest with a project director, the primary leadership roles of the director under the systematic ad-hoc approach are orchestration and providing support for other

staff members as leaders. Power struggles and pecking orders within this framework are severely debilitating. Staff interrelationships are based on trust, professional/personal respect, open dialogue and mutual support. Intra-group power issues that do arise must be dealt with and resolved with frankness and honesty.

A third characteristic of the project staff is the ability to cope successfully with role flux, overlaps, and role growth. The ad-hoc approach means that at many junctures individual members' roles will change through the absorption of new tasks, task redefinition, the occurrence of major individual decision-making responsibilities during particular time periods, major task completion or termination. For each member of the staff these changes lead to increased role ambiguity, role overlap with other members, periods of authority dominance, periods of subordination and followership, and periods of high personal risk. Anxiety over these occurrences create the necessity of often combining personal needs with project tasks and decision making. At juntures such as these, the project staff needs the ability to successfully deliberate on project activities combined with personal needs without short-changing either.

The preceding pages outline assumptions, major characteristics, the gradualist change strategy, and project staff operational requirements of systematic ad hocism. The next section of the paper indicates how the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project's systematic ad hocism approach to change was translated into four strategies for facilitating the adaptation of research.

RESEARCH ADAPTATION AND SYSTEMATIC AD HOCISM

Operating on the assumption that systematic ad hocism was the most appropriate strategy for adapting research findings, building a responsive inservice education program, and accomplishing change, research adaptation in the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project was designed to accommodate different styles and different paces. A variety of options for adapting research through multi-path inservice education was developed. Options included formal university courses after school, released time programs, one to one and small group consultations, independent study, graduate research theses, visitations, professional conferences, team planning meetings, and support for teacher action research and pilot program proposals. Proposals for action research and pilot programs were supported by the project for materials, consultative services, and publication and dissemination. The project's approach to research adaption was eclectic allowing for different levels of teacher interest, involvement, and commitment; dialectical in that the project staff's daily actions and involvements helped staff members in recasting their theory-in-practice mode of working; responsive to changing people and situations in the environment of the school; and challenging in that project staff actively dialogued with teachers to question practice and clarify issues.

The project's systematic ad hocism approach to change encompassed four strategies for facilitating the adaptation of research (Pine, 1979): linear systematic sustained adaptation, ad hoc school problem adaptation, case study process adaptation, and information inundation.

Linear Systematic and Sustained Adaptation is best represented in the work of Oja (1979), Webb (1979), and Pine (1979) who at the beginning of the project identified research findings in psychological education and counseling psychology and adapted these findings in a sustained and systematic way throughout the life of the project, not only training parents and teachers but challenging and involving them in a cycle of action and reflection. Oja's research (1978, 1979a, 1979b) documents this process in detail and delineates the continuing and cohesive nature of this adaptation strategy which she and her teacher research colleagues carry on today.

The Ad Hoc School Problem Adaptation (Pine, 1979) model exemplifies a problem solving approach in which individual teachers defined practical problems and initiated their own research to address these problems. Action research projects were carried out by fourteen teachers on a wide range of topics. The projects were not locked into any one methodology and included case studies, retrospective analyses, analytical studies, correlational studies, experimental designs, and descriptive investigations. The adaptation of specific research findings was an inherent element in the action research.

The Case Study Process Adaption approach (Pine, 1979) involved the use of case studies to document the adaptation process, to validate the use of specific research findings, to provide a compass for directing the application of research findings, and to develop increased capacities of analysis among parents, teachers, and project staff to make new educational change actions and research adaptations possible.

Information Inundation (Pine, 1979) was developed and implemented as an adaptation strategy to draw into the project non-participating teachers. To facilitate research adaptation and to address teacher concerns among this group pf teachers as well as to assist teachers already involved in the in-service program, the project staff began to inundate teachers with research findings which were responsive to questions and concerns shared with project staff in the corridor, the teachers' room, the cafeteria, etc. The goals in using this approach were to "scratch and nick" the thinking of uninvolved teachers, to be responsive to all teachers, and to draw individual teachers and small groups of teachers into dialogue, reflection, questioning, and investigation of school problems so that a need for adapting research would emerge naturally and organically.

CHANGE: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

Four major "maps" for research adaptation and inservice work were identified through a teacher designed and implemented needs assessment: Psychological Education and Human Relations, Individualization, Reading and Writing, and Mainstreaming and the Exceptional Child. Change in these major research adaptation thrusts is defined as any planned or unplanned alteration in the status quo in an organism, situation, or process (Lippitt, 1973:37).

Theoretically systematic ad hocism leads to discrete identifiable changes both planned and unplanned. The ad hoc problem solving and adaptive nature of systematic ad hocism makes the measurement of change through traditional experimental design exceedingly difficult if not impossible. However, ad hoc change can be captured and portrayed through other research methodologies. Data documenting change generated through the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project were collected from:

1. Parent documentation of behavioral and attitudinal changes of individual students as outcomes of the parent counselor aide program.
2. Independent observations of twenty-three teachers and their classrooms by undergraduate teacher education students seven months after the project terminated.
3. A follow-up study on one hundred and twenty-five students who had participated in a peer tutoring program.
4. Teacher journals kept by a dozen teachers throughout the life of the project.

5. Video tapes of teachers trying out innovations in their classrooms.
6. Follow-up individual interviews with twelve teachers who had been most actively involved in the project.
7. Action research studies and research theses written by teachers.
8. A pre- and post-test study of the ego, moral, and conceptual development of teachers participating in the psychological education thrust of the project.

Positive Findings

An analysis of the data indicate the following changes directly attributed to the project seven months after the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project ended:

1. Nine teachers moved from an individualistic protective non-sharing mode of behavior to a sharing collaborative mode and formed a teacher support group which has met throughout the school year.
2. The Junior High School is organized into a schools within a school program. One of the schools adapted, implemented, and continues a Classroom Behavioral Management System in all its classrooms.
3. Prior to the advent of the project there was minimal receptivity to having undergraduate and graduate teacher education students in the school. Following termination of the project twenty-three teachers have opened their classrooms to University of New Hampshire teacher education students for internship and observational experiences. Many of the teachers participate on a regular basis as visiting lecturers in a seminar offered onsite for preservice students.
4. Teachers have changed their attitudes about heterogeneous grouping moving from a negative resistant posture to a more positive supportive position.
5. Of the twelve teachers who were most actively involved in the project:
   - Individualization has been implemented and continues as the primary instructional mode in eight classrooms.
   - Two teachers have reorganized their classrooms and team teach exchanging students, resources, and themselves. Their classrooms are characterized by

individual learning stations, small group instruction, individual tutoring, peer tutoring, physical reconfiguration of classroom space, and a variety of curriculum innovations and developments.
- Six teachers have incorporated moral dilemmas into their curriculums.
- Two teachers use student journals to promote student self awareness and writing.
- One teacher has designed and tests out simulations to promote moral development of junior high school students.
- Twelve teachers have designed and incorporated learning centers into their classrooms.

6. The mathematics peer tutoring program has been exported and installed in the high school. Follow-up data indicate that students in five classrooms participating in the peer tutoring program have changed their attitudes about themselves, teaching, learning, peer relationships, and the subject of mathematics.
7. The special education classroom has been changed into a resource room characterized by individualized instruction; redesign of space; installation of learning centers, lofts, and vocational education stations; a behavioral management program; and a change in instructional and program philosophy and attitudes.
8. Through the parent counselor aide program important behavioral changes have occurred in the lives of twenty-seven troubled students - changes so critical that they have made a difference between students staying in school or leaving, between academic success or failure, between coping with awesome burdens or breaking down, and between nitty gritty active survival or regression to deeper levels of inadequacy, depression, and withdrawal.
9. Fifteen teachers successfully completed action research projects which helped them to see themselves as theory builders and testers.

In summary, documented micro and intermediate change emanating from the University of New Hampshire-Portsmouth Teacher Corps project can be found several months after the termination of the project among individual classroom teachers and groups of children in the junior

high school particularly in the Psychological Education and Human Relations and the Individualization adaptation thrusts.

Negative Findings

An analysis of the data also indicates a number of project failures. No demonstrable changes occurred on a programmatic basis in the adaptation thrusts of Reading and Writing and Mainstreaming and the Exceptional Child. The project encountered fierce resistance to a Parent Reading Tutorial program and in spite of mounting a critical mass of human and material resources failed to implement a program which had been identified as part of a priority need. The project failed in bringing together the Pupil Personnel Team and its members continue to function in an isolated, fragmented, and overlapping way minimizing their potential contributions to the lives and learning of students. Out of fifty-five teachers the project failed to engage and involve a group of eleven teachers and secured minimal and peripheral involvement from thirteen teachers. The Community Council and the Multi-Cultural components of the program achieved small successes but by and large represent project failures. The project had little if any impact on the Education Department of the University. While the project management style allowed individual staff members real freedom to generate programs and activities that were interesting and meaningful the style cut both ways in that there seemed to be a loss of common identity and shared goals and activ-

ities. Collaboration was not achieved. Finally in terms of overall organizational impact and change in the school the project would have to be deemed a failure.

Summary

The project was succesful in achieving micro and intermediate changes but failed to accomplish macro change and change in two of four major research adaptation thrusts. Reflection on the successes and failures of the project to accomplish change has led to some provocative speculations about change theory. The next section of the paper focuses on an analysis of the ideologies of change and how they inform theory and practice.

THE CERTAINTY OF CHANGE THEORY: AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGE IDEOLOGIES

by

Gerald J. Pine

Introduction

The development and implementation of educational innovation and change is inherently a political and moral process as well as a technical process. The routine and uncritical use of change theories and technologies obscures the fact change involves significant ethical decisions about human beings. Moral and intellectual consciousness raising is necessary to explicate and deal with the difficult ethical, ideological, and social problems that are embedded in change efforts particularly in a complex change project such as Teacher Corps. Such an examination is imperative in addressing the certainty of change theory or technology. All change theories have certain powerful assumptions which are more ideological than scientifically valid. It is the purpose of this paper to analyze and surface the powerful but subliminal ideologies which pervasively permeate change theories. The hypothesis of this paper is that fundamental educational change has been difficult to achieve because change theory and technology have been historically weak. Sieber (1974:61) succinctly summarizes the state of the art:

> In approaching the field of knowledge utilization in education, one soon encounters a bewildering array of so called models and strategies. Here is one area of educational interest wherein conceptual schemes are as numerous as the schemes of the medieval scholastics, and in my opinion almost as useless.

We make change much neater and cleaner in our theoretical description than it really is. Applying Kaplan's (1964) distinction between the manner in which a discipline creates knowledge, its logic-in-use, and the manner in which it presents its knowledge, its reconstructed-logic, we could be in either of two situations with regard to the relationship of change theory to practice: (1) change theory may be based on considered experience, but in recounting that experience, we have presented a reconstructed logic which does not reflect what actually happened; (2) we have not based our theory on considered experience so that our prescriptions are nothing more than flights of imagination.

What informs our theory and practice about change? In general, the theoretical foundations of change theory and technology emanate from the mainstream change literature of the planned (systems) and adaptive (OD) schools of thought. This section of the paper analyzes the values and ideologies inherent in planned and adaptive approaches to change identified by Berman (1979). It will explicate tacit assumptions, identify critical issues relating to change, and suggest different starting places for launching change. A basic assumption of this analysis is that while systems and organizational development theories may contribute to the achievement of some educational change,

there are certain fundamental and significant problems in the theories that inhibit change. An understanding and recognition of these problems suggest there are alternative assumptions and ideologies about change which have been closed out as theoretical options by the uncritical embrace of contemporary change theories and technologies.

The Mythology of Neutrality

Change technologies and theories are not interest and value free. In discussing the values evident in, and perpetuated through, such supposedly scientific procedures as systems management, Apple (1972) notes how systems language performs a political function by convincing others of the sophisticated state of the field of education and by evoking tacit meanings from the general audience that are basically supportive of a quasi-scientific belief system. Order and consensus are extremely important for the proper functioning of systematic approaches; conflict and disorder are antithetical to a smoothly functioning system (Apple, 1972:15):

> It should be clear, then, that systems approaches are not essentially neutral, nor are they only performing a 'scientific' function. By tending to cause its users and the other publics involved to ignore certain possible fundamental problems with schools as institutions, systems management also acts to generate and channel political sentiments supportive of the existing modes of access to knowledge and power.

Systems approaches rest on a set of hidden beliefs which, when examined, is often unrealistic and socially and politically conserva-

tive. These assumptions are concerned with the tacit advocacy of a view negating the importance of intellectual conflict, a limited perspective on scientific endeavor, an inability to deal with ambiguity, and finally, a separation of moral and technical questions (Apple, 1972:17-18).

Others, like Passmore (1973), have addressed the problem of terminological bias, saying that scientific sounding words like "efficiency" often disguise value judgments, and that seemingly factual statements often imply value judgments or even formulation of social policy. House (1973) identifies some underlying values of systems approaches:

> componentiality: reality can be easily separated into neat components
>
> multirelationality: an individual can be fragmented into all the relationships he/she must maintain in society
>
> makeability: problems can always be solved, and
>
> progressivity: it is desirable to maximize the benefits of any action

Apple (1972:15-16) suggests that systems procedures actually enable avoiding conflicts over basic values by making choices within the limited framework of existing modes of interaction and by precluding questions about the basis of the structure itself. Using scientific terminology this way serves to deemphasize value conflicts and to portray decisions as factual or reality-based judgments. Technological language not only narcoticizes our senses to the moral and value issues in change but also creates a "reality" about the change process which really doesn't exist.

The technology and language of systematic change approaches shape the minds of those who use them and obscure the fundamental aim of systems procedures, i.e., effecting and maintaining technical control and certainty. Systematic approaches are used presumably because they offer a technology for resolving potentially conflicting norms, values, and behavioral regularities of people and institutions. They are regarded as functional approaches to change because in theory they supplant the inefficient with the efficient, the unpredictable and the unique with the predictable and patterned, subjective quirks and biases with impersonal, rational; and objective procedures, and slow and tedious hit-or-miss methods with smooth and precodified routines. However, the systems procedures that are effective for developing a rocket are not necessarily effective for helping people to achieve meaning in life and for dealing with the competing political, moral, and intensely personal conceptions of valuable educational activity. Uncertainty, ambiguity, and conflict are the very fabric of life, the very nature of being human. Eliminating them is a contradiction. The philosophy of gradualism, a principal ideological underpinning of systems and OD approaches, has influenced our belief systems so that we rationalize and schematize order, control, predictability, consensus and planned change and eliminate the human dimensions and reality of uncertainty, serendipity, ambiguity, unpredictability, and conflict - elements which accompany the political, ethical, and moral issues found in any complex educational innovation and change.

The Ideology of Gradualism

Smith (1973) identifies the two great paradigms of change in Western thought as endogenous and exogenous. The dominant tradition in Western thought has been the endogenous paradigm of change. According to this perspective, change is like the growth of a plant or animal: slow, continuous, upward spiralling, inexorable and irreversible, uniform, and above all, immanent and natural. Change is viewed as dual: internally self generated and cumulative, and externally imposed and intermittent. Both feed each other in a neo-evolutionist schemo. The endogenous paradigm sees crisis or "major intrusions" as infrequent, intermittent, and a punctuation of the relatively smooth cumulative growth of the homeostatic equilibrium.

The exogenous paradigm of change sees crisis as a frequent and normal part of the change process. Change is analyzed in terms of the intrusion of major events, the influence of the environment, and crises. Crisis is the ubiquitous symbol of change. Symptoms of disturbance, upheaval, social movements, and the overthrow of institutions are subsumed under the term "crisis." Change is rarely smooth or regular but is usually fraught with tension and conflict.

The dominance of the endogenous paradigm of change is reflected in the ideology of gradualism which permeates educational theory and practice. The intellectual roots and tacit values of systematic planned and OD approaches support the gradualistic evolutionary cooperative approach to change that characterizes contemporary educational innovation.

Recently the scientific validity of gradualism has come under question leading to significant implications for educators interested in educational change and reform. Gradualism is a philosophy of change, not an induction from nature. Stephen Jay Gould (1978) in his essay "Evolution: Explosion, Not Ascent," notes that when Darwin adopted gradualism as his firm view of evolutionary change, he argued more from tradition than from observation. Darwin was influenced by two people: J. B. Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who held that discontinuous change is a criterion of supernatural intervention since all natural change must be gradual; and Charles Lyell who, in his reformulation of geology, postulated a stately world of slow, steady and gradual change without direction. Backed by the prestige of Darwin and Lyell, gradualism triumphed in the 19th century and prevailed until recently among natural and social scientists almost as an exclusive orthodoxy. Gould argues that gradualism is now beginning to disintegrate in field after field and that the evidence of geology indicates that punctuational change, i.e., sudden, abrupt replacement and rapid flips mark the history of most species. Many other disciplines are now considering alternative models of punctuational change and economists, ecologists, physicists and anthropologists are constructing mathematical models and theories of catastrophic transformation to challenge the conventional wisdom of gradualistic evolution.

Why did gradualism become so popular and exert its hegemony for so long? Gould suggests that the answer must lie partially in nature, for

some change is slow and continuous but the utility of gradualism as an ideology must explain much of its influence, for it became liberalism's quintessential dogma against radical change - sudden flips are against the laws of nature. Gould asserts that gradualism's strong ideological components have been more responsible for its previous success than any objective matching with nature:

> As gradualism unravels in many areas, it becomes important to understand what supported it in the first place. Scientists tend to assume that such prevailing assumptions arise inductively from patterns in data, obviously perceived. But nature is maddeningly multifarious, - it speaks ambiguously on any issue so cosmic as the nature of change. Shared assumptions often reflect a cultural and political climate more than they record the constraints of scientific data. Gradualism has complex roots, but its role as a general ideology must not be underrated; it became the standard argument among 19th century liberals trying to preserve the social order against increasing threats (and practices) of revolution.

The ideological role of gradualism in change is illustrated in the story of Charles Stewart Fox who battled the Prime Minister of England, William Pitt, and the majority of the English Parliament to end the slave trade. Told that the slave trade could not be cut off abruptly, "these things take time," and any changes would have to be long term and gradual. Fox replied, "That one word gradual each year condemns many thousands of people to die."

In summary, the gradualistic evolutionary model of change has served and currently serves vested interests and maintains the status quo as a subliminal ideology pervading contemporary educational innova-

tion and reform. As a philosophy of change, it has nourished the consensus model of thought profoundly affecting American educational tradition and change theory.

The Consensus Model of Thought

The consensus model of thought is mirrored in both organizational development and systems management. Jackson Kytle (1977) in his critique of the technological ethos of the "change industry" elaborates Israel's (1972) two competing conceptual models of change: the conflict model and the consensus model. The point of divergence for the models is inequality. The conflict model treats inequality as the central contradiction causing competition between the classes. The consensus model, in contrast, focuses primarily upon mechanisms allowing structural inequalities to be negotiated, the most important one being commitment to shared moral or political goals. In the conflict model disequilibrium is seen as necessary and desirable, whereas the consensus model assumes that balance and stability are the norm.

Kytle (1977) argues that organizational development is predicated on a consensus paradigm. Organizational development theory assumes that conflict is endemic within organizations and that uncontrolled conflict within an organization impedes organizational health. The goal of organizational development is to reduce internal conflict by increasing individual "ownership" (psychological ownership, not material ownership) of organizational goals and processes using the techniques of survey feedback and conflict management. Kytle concludes that organizational development is

ideologically loaded in favor of management and institutional/organizational interests; that it tends to support traditional organizational/institutional values while muting dissent along the way; and that most of the long range changes produced by organizational development programs are cosmetic with the basic economic and political structures of the organization remaining untouched. Kytle's conclusion is supported by Karl Weich (1969) who notes "organizational theory has often been stifled because it has worked on problems that managers thought were problems and has studied them using managerial concepts rather than psychological or sociological ones."

The intellectual history and tradition of organizational development theory would seem to support Kytle. Braverman (1974) observes that organizational development and human relations have been touted as a replacement for Taylorism (Frederick Taylor is regarded as the father of scientific management) but that Taylor introduced his ideas on the segmentation of labor with the same progressive and humanistic language. The avoidance of conflict and the promotion of equilibrium or a state of collaboration constitute the main programmatic orientation of Elton Mayo and Roethlisberger whose research (the Hawthorne Studies) and work in establishing personnel departments and human relations movement in industry form one of the major theoretical bases of organizational development. According to Coser, their trained incapacity to understand conflicts of interest is evident in all their writings.

Coser (1956) also observes that Kurt Lewin developed a strangely contradictory attitude toward conflict. Initially, he stood for a militant position emphasizing the need to engage resolutely in conflict activity to maintain and insure the existence of the group, but then he moved to the position of avoiding conflicts through social management and group skills.

In his critique of the consensus/conflict dichotomy, Kytle (1977: 705) recommends that social psychology attend to the history of its contributions to applied areas and commands the attention of those who wish to understand the consensus psychology of organizational development:

> The theory and practice of organizational development, not to mention other group based technologies, is heavily dependent upon major elements of mainstream social psychology such as field theory, theories of cooperation and competition, interpersonal attraction, bargaining, attribution theory and group dynamics. It is also noteworthy, in this connection, that community organization programs do not draw very much upon mainstream social psychology because the liberal cooperative orientation of the latter is usually irrelevant to the situations of conflict and confrontation encountered in community organizing work. In general, social psychology has not been sufficiently concerned with its application to concrete social situations and seems virtually unaware of how its implicit values of consensus, cooperation, conflict resolution and the like have been ideologically loaded in favor of the dominant entrepreneurial and professional elites in our society.

The consensus model of thought not only undergirds organizational development theory but also systems approaches. The way order and conflict are mirrored in systems approaches used in education is indicative

of a constitutive rule of activity that causes most of us to view order as positive and conflict as negative (Apple, 1972:17):

> Order becomes a psychological necessity. This is rather important. As I mentioned before, systems approaches attempt to bring about a technical solution to political and value problems. There is nothing odd about this occurrence. Most advanced industrial societies seem to transform their ethical, political, and aesthetic questions, for instance, into engineering problems. Profound conflict between opposing ideological and moral positions are translated into puzzles to be solved by technical expertise. Now, when questioned about the tendency to eliminate conflict, or redefine it, and search for consensus, proponents of systems management in education could and do, in fact, take the position that they are merely trying to be scientific about their problems....The perspective they have of science is notably inaccurate....The history of science and the growth of individual disciplines, has <u>not</u> proceeded by consensus. In fact, most important progress in these fields has been occasioned by intense conflict, both intellectual and interpersonal, and by conceptual revolution.

The consensus model of thought found in organizational development and systematic change theories is deeply embedded in the entire cultural web of education. American educators have been imbued with the cultural illusion that all progress in education evolves inevitably and properly from a consensual integration of confluent tending social circumstances and values ordering the universe as a whole, the social system, and particularly formal education. Reitman (1974:337) suggests that most educators have historically been "collaborationists" in their thinking, and this kind of thinking reinforced by the collective wisdom of HEW and NIE persists into the modern age where it is increasingly likely to fail to

help achieve desired and desirable societal and institutional reintegration and equilibrium.

The consensus model of thought still taken for granted by most educators assumes that the social system is a holistic enterprise with all cultural and demographic elements ideally fitting together in a well-integrated fashion. Vested interests that have legitimated their power control the enterprise and inevitably resist efforts to bring about changes in the core normative structure of that enterprise (Reitman, 1974). If change is unavoidable, it emerges gradually from perceived disjunctions in the structure of a system or from accretion, in the form of modest additions to the status quo - never major replacements - and is grudgingly harmonized with existing cultural patterns. Cooperation and collaboration among all well enculturated members, including "loyal" innovators are the keynotes of change, as are rational dialogue and progressive modification of system patterns. Change tends to be viewed from a perspective of moderation, rationality, collaboration, avoidance of rebelliousness by proponents of reform, and preservation of whatever existing patterns are possible. Reitman (1974:342) believes that this change ethos is dysfunctional and that the pervasiveness of the consensus model of thought is the fundamental reason that many once-promising educational innovations and reforms have failed to materialize:

> The failure of practically every important educational reform proposal made in the past seventy-five years....can, in the final analysis, be traced to the inability of large numbers of actual or potential reform-minded educators and their allies to appreciate the necessity and the legitimacy of truly original thought and, attendantly, individual and collective dissent at times on behalf of needed changes in the structure and function of

> the institution. This type of thought and behavior is required whenever a highly significant proposal for change is made, since such proposals are almost invariably strongly resisted by powerful individuals and groups possessing vested interests in preserving the status quo at practically any cost.

The embodiment of the consensus model of thought in change theory guarantees that our approaches to change do what they really are supposed to do - effectuate small increments of change, maintain the status quo, and minimize conflict. According to Mann (1976:326) many people deny the possibility of any change in education except through the cooperative route, and "that attitude seems to be as much a description of the problem as a valid conclusion. The purpose of public policy remains the regular achievement of public goods - under many circumstances but especially in instances of conflict or disagreement which are after all the most significant environment for public policy." The danger in practicing contemporary change theory is that its language dulls our sensitivities to the positive and integrative functions of conflict as an engine of educational change.

The Ethical Use of Conflict

Values and assumptions about human activity in society are important for all levels of educational change theory and practice even though their immediate meaning may not be obvious. A theory of educational change by definition must presuppose at some point in time a

theory of alienation, dislocation, and conflict. To focus on the functional aspects of conflict is not to deny that certain functions of conflict are destructive or that they lead to disintegration of organizations and social structures. Such focusing, however, serves to correct a balance of analysis which has been tilted in the other direction. In a series of basic propositions distilled primarily from the theories of Georg Simmel (1955), Lewis Coser (1964) has clarified the integrative functions of conflict. His seminal and powerful work has significant implications for management theory and practice and for educational change which can only be summarized here. In clarifying the concept of social conflict, Coser (1964:151-157) identifies several positive values of conflict:

> Conflict within a group may help to establish unity or to reestablish unity and cohesion where it has been threatened by hostile and antagonistic feelings among members. Whether internal conflict promises to be a means of equilibration or social relations or readjustment of rival claims, or whether it threatens to tear apart depends on the organization's or social structure's tolerance or conflict.
>
> Conflict usually takes place within a common universe of norms and rules and leads to the establishment and extension of such norms and rules. In the course of conflict new rules are continuously created and old rules modified. By bringing about new situations, which are partly or totally undefined by rules and norms, conflict acts as a stimulus for the establishment of new rules and norms.
>
> Conflict brings into the conscious awareness of the contenders and of the community at large norms and rules that were dormant before the particular conflict. By reaffirming dormant norms conflict intensifies participation in social life and decision making.

> Conflict makes possible a reassessment of relative power and thus serves as a balancing mechanism which helps to maintain and consolidate social structures and organizations.
>
> Conflict creates associations and coalitions by bringing together otherwise unrelated presons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations can produce agreement and change out of relationships of competition and further stimulate social participation.

How can these propositions inform our vision and practice? What can be extrapolated from Coser's work which will advance the accomplishment of educational change? Are there ethical ways in which conflict and crises can be induced to generate change? Should all conflicts be mediated and managed or is there some value in exacerbating conflict to produce educational change? Kytle's observation that community organizers do not draw very much from the cooperative and consensus psychology of change theories to promote social change is insightful and suggests that Saul Alinsky's (1971) community organization approach which uses a change strategy based on deliberately induced conflict may offer some provocative ideas for theorists to mull over in considering the challenges of educational change.

Conflict is ubiquitous in human life in the sense that flight is ubiquitous in the existence of most birds. It is simply a mode of action, a method of achieving goals in the social context. Its elimination would require the condition that no human beings would ever desire the achievement of incompatible goals, and this in turn would require either the social isolation of all human beings or the physiological transformation of all persons but one into willless zombies (Bailey and Feder, 1973).

The pursuit of change in American schools must take place in the context of a pluralistic society. A plural democracy ultimately grounds its values in the differences among individual members. The clash of values which is so clearly present in site resistance to change is the clash of legitimately differing interests. Many of our most interesting public situations involve such rights-in-conflict. They are intriguing and demanding exactly because they are the context of leadership (Mann, 1977: 322).

Implicitly, the conflict model of change is as ideological as the consensus model, but it uses different assumptions and values. This suggests that a significant part of change theory and technology as a field ought to be committed to the responsibility of becoming a critical science. Such a responsibility is rooted in seeking out and illuminating the ideological and epistemological presuppositions of change theory and technology to make educational innovators ideologically and intellectually aware in dealing with the complexities and subtleties of initiating educational change and in developing alternative hypotheses about change. Omissions of these alternative views from change theory are more suggestive than what theory includes and more may be learned from what change theory does not say than from what it says.

Unconsciously and unintentionally eliminating alternative hypotheses and theoretical options is the byproduct of implementing change theories and technologies without critically examining their hidden assumptions. Examples of other ideological myths which have limited the development of alternative change strategies and perspectives are found in the ideologies

of participation/ownership, perfectability and goodness, and "change is virtue."

The Ideology of Ownership and Participation

An article of faith in organizational change literature is when people participate in decision making and develop a sense of ownership the prospects of implementing change are greatly enhanced. Corwin (1979) says that the principle of ownership is a romantic myth to which almost everyone subscribes. The idea is attractive because it seems democratic that people will not accept an innovation unless they have participated in decisions regarding it. But this hypothesis is far from conclusive. Dachler and Wilpert (1978) conclude the literature and research on the principle of participation/ownership is fragmented and that the concept of ownership is not well substantiated by empirical evidence. In their review of the literature they offer critical observations about the idea of participation/ownership:

- Participation in decision making may require a number of unique response and interaction capabilities, certain personality attributes, possession of various resources - considerations which have not been treated to any extent in the research.
- Motivational, perceptual, and emotional processes of individuals may set boundaries for participation potential and the outcomes of participation.
- Participatory systems which consider the value of employees but deemphasize their factual knowledge and expertise may contribute to greater imbalances in the decision making process in favor of those who already hold power by virtue of their knowledge and expertise.
- Two crucial and still illdefined concepts underlying the principle of partnership/ownership - power and influence - are largely ignored in the literature.

- Participatory and ownership processes may contribute to group think phenomena (Janis, 1972) and subtly stifle individual dissent and creativity.
- An organization wanting to develop a participatory system in a society in which most other institutions are based on autocratic principles may find that its members do not have the disposition and necessary capabilities for participatory decision making and ownership.
- Research has neglected to question whether individual, group, and organizational conditions that might be necessary for participation to achieve intended values and goals, require corresponding changes in interorganizational and societal characteristics or whether the intended values and goals are viable within existing social conditions.
- Research has not informed theory or practice well about the application of the principle of participation/ownership in decision making and change in terms of such elements as the size of the organization, the content of the decision, the amount of information required, the complexity of the decision, and time constraints in decision making.

While Dachler and Wilpert's review of the literature focuses on the scientific and technical aspects of the principle of participation/ownership, Corwin (1979:23) addresses the moral dimension when he asserts that participation "is often a mere guise for selling an idea and coopting people." Ownership is used to seduce people psychplogically to buy into a change which never emanated from them in the first place. A change is planned, introduced into an organization, and the concept of "ownership" is employed to influence people to think the idea for change was theirs to begin with. On the other hand, Corwin (1979:23) suggests participation and ownership may limit the possibilities of change anyway because "the more people who are included in the decision process, the more the original idea will be negotiated away in order to get it accepted by people with conflicting ideas about what it should be and do and whom it should serve."

Democratic decision making and ownership of change is an attractive principle but it is not the only principle of authority which governs organizations and influences change. The ideology of ownership more often expresses what we wish were true and its primacy and preeminence among major concepts in change theory and technology deflects attention away from the possibility that power and political processes are legitimate, appropriate, and effective tools for bringing about change. Mann (1979:4) says, "I would submit to you that there are situations in which people can be forced legitimately to comply....Where there is no other recourse and where it can be legitimated leaders must sometimes exercise power in the pure sense of forcing compliance and punishing non-compliance."

The ideology of participation/ownership has created in change theory and practice an attitudinal and intellectual aversion to the use of legitimate authority, power, and political processes. Perhaps somewhere in the dim past power, authority, and political processes as techniques for leadership and change may have been overrated but it seems now their appropriate use in effecting change is vastly underrated. Paul (1977:34) states the case well:

> Change in education has frequently been brought about through power/coercive strategies. School integration is one notable example; others include legal decisions involving teachers unions, students rights, and due process. The community control movement of the late sixties (Ocean Hill-Brownsville) and recent citizen reluctance, and in some cases, refusal to pass school budgets are additional examples. One reason for the lack of attention given the power-coercive strategy may be the rational academic bias of model developers on one hand and on the other the persistent belief that educational decisions are not po-

> litical. Regardless of the reasons for ignoring power-coercive strategies, the fact remains that such strategies are among the most effective and powerful in education today.

In one of the rare detailed treatments of power-coercive strategies Zaltman and Duncan (1977:165) offer the following guidelines for using power to effect change:

1. When commitment by the client system is low power strategies may be desirable.
2. The lower the perceived or felt need for change among a client system, the greater the need for a power oriented strategy.
3. Power strategies are desirable when a protracted adoption-decision making process is likely but change must be immediate.
4. Power strategies can be effective when various individuals or groups may be favorably disposed to change but one person or group is acting as a bottleneck or barrier.
5. Power strategies can be effective in creating change rapidly before resistance can be mobilized.
6. The less susceptible to modification a change is, the greater the need for a power strategy to force change within the client system. Power strategies may also be useful in securing a trial use of change.

The exercise of power has a potential retaliatory cost to its user. There is a risk to using legitimate power. Perhaps it is the risk involved which has intimidated change agents, reinforced and accentuated the ideology of participation/ownership, and removed from serious consideration a proven and powerful strategy for creating educational change.

The Ideology of Perfectability and Goodness

Change theory and practice have been deeply influenced by existential-humanistic theories of human behavior which have focused on personality growth, the development of individual potential and efficiency

and mental health in the context of organizations (McGregor, 1960, 1966; Argyris, 1964, 1971). These theories: (1) assume a basic hierarchy of needs which culminates in a need for self actualizing behavior, and (2) argue that organizations can create the conditions whereby their members will become less defensive, more productive, more receptive to change, more self actualizing, and that consequently organizations in turn will become more healthy and productive and incorporate change whenever it is needed. This self actualizing optimistic view of human nature, particularly as it is delineated in the work of Maslow (1954) and Rogers (1951), has affected organizational theory, leadership theory and practice, and change theory and technology so profoundly that the existence and the power of individual and organizational pathology in negatively influencing, blocking, or resisting change has all but been eliminated from serious and studied thinking about change.

Oja (1980) hypothesizes that there is a relationship between an adult's ego development stage and his or her receptivity to and incorporation of change introduced through inservice education. Adults at the lowest level of ego development - the Self-Protective Stage - would be the least receptive to change vs. adults at the highest levels of ego development - the Autonomous and the Integrated Stages - who would be most receptive and open to change. Jane Loevinger (1980) in writing about therapeutic change says that "a thoroughly manipulative, opportunistic client at the Self-Protective Stage may be about as resistant to change as anyone a therapist will encounter." The research and literature on the effect of intensive individual and group therapy in changing

people is extensive and far from conclusive. It suggests that changing individual behavior and attitudes is a formidable, complex, and long term task. Extrapolating from that literature one might speculate about the effects within an organization of six or seven adults at the Self-Protective Stage in their development banding together to reinforce each other, to gain advantage, to serve their vested interests, and to block change. Centers or clusters of pathology exist in every organization. There are groups of people who are defensive, opportunistic, thoroughly manipulative, and preoccupied with gaining personal advantage. Moreover, contrary to the prevalent existential humanistic view, poor mental health may be more infectious than good mental health.

Change theory has not dealt very adequately with the concept of "centers of pathology" because it has been wedded to a view of organizational and individual behavior which has minimized the power of self-protective pathology not only in effectively blocking change but also in creating regressive change. How does one deal with centers of pathology? How are clusters of self-protective people changed? To what extent are therapeutic and educational interventions required to move people from the self-protective stage to higher levels of ego development so that they will be more receptive to educational change? Is it worth the time and effort to try and change the intractable or should educational innovators work around these centers of pathology to effect change? Can change be accomplished through bypassing clusters of pathology? To what

extent should legitimated power and authority be used to force change with centers of pathology? What kind of damage can be wrought on a change effort by centers of pathology? If it is difficult to change individual behavior under the best of therapeutic conditions what unique interventions are required to change groups of self-protective, opportunistic people so they eventually will be ready for educational change?

A reconsideration of the power of self-protective pathology in organizations may help to correct an imbalance in our assumptions about change. Hopefully, the emotional and ideological commitment to the perfectability of human nature will not preclude some thinking about the darker sides of human behavior and their impact on change.

In their works Edgar Allen Poe, Hermann Melville, Joseph Conrad, T. S. Elliot, Alfred Hitchcock (and more recently Stanley Kubrick in his film The Shining) remind all of us of the way disorder intrudes upon the blithe assumptions of ordinary people that the world is a logical place, of the omnipresence of malevolence in the most commonplace situations, of the intrusion of the anarchial on great symbols of order, and of the demons that pursue every feeling man and woman. Fully and openly confronting the imperfections and darkness of human existence may in the long run be the most humanistically helpful way of refining and improving change theory and technology.

The Ideology of Virtue

Change is more virtuous than stability. Change is its own reward. Change is never immoral, unvirtuous, or bad. These are subliminal and attractive elements of the change ethos which subtly affect change agents. Initiating and implementing change are viewed as heroic. The underdog is portrayed as a purveyor of change. Truly effective innovations are presumed to be introduced into an institution by subordinates

or subordinate units without strong support from the top. We all root for the little guy who overthrows the yoke of big bureaucracy. ...another myth is that certain heroic individuals can, in single handed fashion, force through a change on a reluctant institution" (Corwin, 1979:24).

Built into the change process is an unquestioned intrinsic sense of morality which makes the business of changing people and organizations very seductive. Euphoric expectations; unconscious patronizing attitudes; visions of heroic rescue of organizations and people; and the image of the underdog pure of heart and armed with conceptual schemes, matrices, theories, and technical skills cleverly strategizing change - these are the occupational diseases of change agentry emanating from the hidden ideology "change is virtue." Change is tedious hard work and requires a heroic commitment - but a heroic commitment to see things through and be persistent. Persistence may be grossly underestimated as a necessary condition for effecting change. It is not a razzle-dazzle way of changing things but in the long run, along with power-coercive strategies, it may be as potent as anything else known about creating change (Mann, 1979:6). The dangers in succumbing to the occupational diseases of change agentry are: (1) change agents - "the changers" - can often be seen by "the changees" as academic buccaneers, entrepreneurs, who are not prepared to lay out on the table their vested and selfish interests in promoting change, and (2) intellectual humility is lost. Intellectual humility is required in the change

process to put change into proper perspective. "Changing an organization is at best a complex and exceedingly difficult undertaking. If a few good things really happen, if a new program can improve things by a few percentage points maybe that is enough" (Corwin, 1979:27).

Change agents are often passionate believers and all change agents - institutional or individual - are advocates of some position conscious or unconscious. Change agents are not value free nor are they devoid of personal and selfish interests. The goals of a change agent and the client system for change may not coincide. Under the ideological mantle that change is good the change agent may work an agenda which could lead to certain second order or unintended consequences such as manipulation of individuals and events to serve the invisible values and goals of the change agent. This issue suggests that change theory may be well illuminated by the study of the change agent as theory.

The central question of change is how vested and selfish personal and organizational interests among universities, schools, and communities can be wedded together so that everyone gets something and in the process learning and growth are improved for kids. Marrying vested interests, indeed, admitting institutions and individuals have vested interests that are served by change projects, demands the intellectual humility "to puncture our balloons and bring them back down to earth," to recognize change is a human process, to temper the ideology of virtue implicit in change, and to admit that conventional change theory and practice have barely scratched the surface in generating fundamental educational change.

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